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Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-10 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01

INR-10 IO-03 L-02 NSAE-00 OIC-01 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-14 USIA-04 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 AECE-00 DRC-01 /080 W
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P R 081432Z OCT 74
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0491
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
INFO USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR

S E C R E T MBFR VIENNA 0300

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652 GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF
OCTOBER 7, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS OCTOBER 7 MEETING CHAIRED BY
ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI), THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG) APPROVED
THE CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY REPORT FOR THE PERIOD SEPTEMBER 30 -
OCTOBER 5 (TEXT MBFR VIENNA 293), APPROVED TALKING POINTS
FOR THE OCTOBER 8 INFORMAL AND HEARD A REPORT OF AN
OCTOBER 4 BILATERAL CONVERSATION BETWEEN FRG REP BEHRENDS
AND POLISH REP STRULAK. ACCORDING TO BEHRENDS, STRULAK
ADMITTED THAT THE EASTERN POSITION REMAINED BASICAL-
LY UNCHANGED, SAID THE EAST STILL STRONGLY DESIRED A
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"CONTRACTUAL" AGREEMENT ON MUTUAL REDUCTIONS, STATED THAT

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THE EASTERN FIRST STEP PROPOSAL REMAINED ON THE TABLE,
CRITICIZED THE COMMON CEILING FOR EXCLUDING ARMAMENTS,
AND AGAIN ARGUED FOR INCLUSION OF NUCLEARS IN REDUCTIONS
AND ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS TO COVER
POTENTIAL GROWTH OF THE BUNDESWEHR. STRULAK DENIED AN
EASTERN LINKAGE BETWEEN CSCE AND MBFR, BUT ADDED THAT
PROGRESS IN EACH CONFERENCE COULD BENEFIT THE OTHER.
NEXT AHG MEETING SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 9. END SUMMARY.

BILATERALS
2. FRG REP (BEHRENDS) SAID HE TOLD POLISH REP (STRULAK),
DURING OCTOBER 4 CONVERSATION, THAT THE EASTERN POSTURE
IN THE LAST INFORMAL AND PLENARY STATEMENTS LEFT THE
IMPRESSION THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE BACK WHERE THEY WERE
LAST OCTOBER. PARAPHRASING LENIN, STRULAK COUNTERED THAT
IT "SOMETIMES IS NECESSARY TO TAKE A FEW STEPS BACKWARD TO
ADVANCE WITH MORE VIGOR." BEHRENDS TOLD THE POLISH REP
HE HAD THE FEELING THAT THE EAST WANTS TO SIT BACK AND
WAIT FOR INTERNAL WESTERN PRESSURES TO FORCE NATO INTO
UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS. HE SAID SUCH AN ATTITUDE WAS UN-
PRODUCTIVE AND THAT UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS WOULD END THE
MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. STRULAK SAID HE IS QUITE AWARE THAT
IF NATO TOOK UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS, THE ONLY OTHER ROUTE TO
EFFECTUATING MUTUAL REDUCTIONS WOULD BE RECIPRO-
CAL EASTERN UNILATERAL REDUCTIONS BY EXAMPLE, BUT THAT THIS
WOULD NOT PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR AN AGREEMENT. STRULAK SAID EAST
WANTS MUTUAL REDUCTIONS ON A "CONTRACTUAL BASIS," AND IT WOULD
BE A "GREAT TRAGEDY" TO FAIL IN THIS GOAL.

3. POLISH REP SAID THAT, IN EFFECT, THE EAST'S BASIC NEGOTIA-
TING POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED. HE ASSERTED THAT THE PACT
HAD SHOWN "GREAT FLEXIBILITY" WITH ITS EARLIER FIRST-STEP
PROPOSAL, IN WHICH THE US AND SOVIETS WOULD TAKE THE BULK
OF REDUCTIONS WHILE OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD TAKE
"SYMBOLIC OR SMALL CONTRIBUTIONS." WHEN FRG REP POINTED
OUT THAT THE EAST HAD REBUFFED PAST WESTERN EFFORTS TO
SUM UP EASTERN "FIRST STEP" IDEAS, STRULAK EXPLAINED THAT
THE EAST WAS AFRAID THE ALLIES WOULD "GRAFT" EASTERN FIRST-STEP
PROPOSALS ONTO THE OVERALL WESTERN POSITION, AND THUS DIS-
TORT THE CONTEXT OF SUCH PACT PROPOSALS. STRULAK ASSURED
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BEHRENDS THAT THE EASTERN FIRST-STEP PROPOSAL WAS "STILL
ON THE TABLE". BEHRENDS REPLIED THAT THE EASTERN FIRST
STEP PROPOSAL WAS NOT VERY HELPFUL BECAUSE IT WOULD SET
ASIDE AND PREJUDICE THE BASIC ALLIED POSITION AND UNDER-
MINE WESTERN SECURITY. STRULAK DENIED THIS, BUT COULD NOT
BE INDUCED TO PROVIDE FURTHER DETAILS ABOUT THE EASTERN
FIRST-STEP PROPOSAL.

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4. STRULAK SAID THE MOST ARTIFICIAL AND UNFAIR PORTION OF THE ALLIED PROGRAM WAS THE SINGLING OUT FOR WITHDRAWALS OF LARGE NUMBERS OF SOVIET TANKS. AT THE SAME TIME, CONTINUED STRULAK, THE WEST REFUSED TO INCLUDE NUCLEARS IN REDUCTIONS. WHEN THE FRG REP REPLIED THAT THE WEST ENVISAGES STABILITY IN THE AREA THROUGH PARITY IN CONVENTIONAL FORCES, STRULAK SAID HE COULD IMAGINE NO MILITARY CONFLICT INVOLVING THE TWO SIDES WHICH WOULD NOT ESCALATE INTO NUCLEAR WAR. THAT IS WHY THE EAST OBJECTED TO THE CONTINUATION OF THE ALLEGED WESTERN NUCLEAR SUPERIORITY IN THE AREA.

5. POLISH REP TERMED THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT "RESTRICTIVE" AND "SEVERELY LIMITED," BECAUSE IT APPLIES ONLY TO GROUND FORCES AND TANKS, AND EXCLUDES ARMAMENTS. WHEN BEHRENDS ASKED WHETHER THE EAST WOULD FAVOR A COMMON CEILING ON AIRCRAFT AND TANKS, STRULAK CHANGED THE SUBJECT.

6. STRULAK TOLD BEHRENDS OPENLY THAT NATIONAL CEILINGS WERE "ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY," CONTENDING THAT UNDER THE PROPOSED GLOBAL CEILING, THE BUNDESWEHR COULD DRASITCALLY INCREASE IN SIZE TO COMPENSATE FOR OTHER ALLIED REDUCTIONS.

7. REPLYING TO QUESTIONS FROM THE GROUP, BEHRENDS TOLD CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) THAT STRULAK HAD NOT EXPLICITLY SAID THAT THE EAST WOULD NOT ACCEPT GLOBAL CEILINGS IN ITS FIRST-STEP PROPOSAL; FRG REP HAD NOT WISHED TO PRESS POLISH REP ON THIS POINT. BEHRENDS TOLD NORWEGIAN REP (VAERNO) THAT STRULAK HAD DENIED THAT THE EAST IS ESTABLISHING A CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE. STRULAK SAID A CSCE/MBFR LINKAGE WOULD BE UNFORTUNATE. HOWEVER, STRULAK ADDED THAT PROGRESS IN EACH NEGOTIATION WOLD BE HELPFUL FOR THE OTHER.
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INFORMAL TALKING POINTS

8. THE GROUP CONSIDERED AND APPROVED TWO SETS OF TALKING POINTS FOR THE OCTOBER 8 INFORMAL. ONE PAPER QUOTES DIRECTLY FROM STRULAK'S OCTOBER 3 PLENARY STATEMENT IN CONTRASTING THE LACK OF ANY EASTERN MOVEMENT WITH PROFESSED EASTERN READINESS TO RESOLVE THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE, TO MAKE CONCRETE PROGRESS AND TO REACH MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. THE OTHER SET OF TALKING POINTS GOES OVER THE WESTERN POSITION ON THE "WHOSE FORCES" ISSUE, REBUTS SEVERAL POINTS MADE BY STRULAK AT THE OCTOBER 3 PLENARY AND INTRODUCES THE NEW NATO GUIDANCE ON THE CO-TERMINOUS FIVE-YEAR DURATION OF THE NON-INCREASE COMMITMENT AND REVIEW

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PERIOD.

AHG CHAIRMAN'S WEEKLY REPORT, SEPTEMBER 30 - OCTOBER 5

9. THE GROUP APPROVED,WITH MINOR CHANGES, THE CHAIR-MAN'S WEEKLY REPORT PREPARED BY THE GREEK DELEGATION (TEXT MBFR VIENNA 293).

10. NEXT AD HOC GROUP MEETING IS SCHEDULED FOR OCTOBER 9 AT 3:30 P.M. AND WILL DISCUSS THE OCTOBER 8 INFORMAL AND REVIEW THE WORKING GROUP DRAFT OF THE OCTOBER 10 ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENT.RESOR

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